1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463 Ifalik

"Occupation also governs the formation of temporary groups only. Some of these, as already noted, have other bonds as well--sex, age, common residence. There are no formal permanent organizations of fishermen, canoe-builders, or specialists of any kind. Navigators from different islands,on the rather rare occasions when they meet, may gravitate together. They have a good deal in common;not only a common part-time occupation, but a common status, next to that of the chiefs, and common possession of the restricted lore of seamanship. But since they meet only at long intervals, and then mostly in twos or threes, they hardly constitute a distinct group."

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 643 Ifalik

"The chiefs do indeed constitute a group, continuous though not always in session. The bonds that unite it are common rank, a common part-time occupation, and, as a rule though not necessarily, male sex and rather advanced age. Their rank seems to be the most prominent characteristic in native thought. Their common occupation, that of governing, involves a relationship to all the rest of the people. Further discussion of this activity makes up the chapter on government."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 428, 868, 463 Ifalik

"The most prized special skills and lores--those of navigation and canoe-building--are ordinarily taught by a father to his son or sons. A man may choose other apprentices; but a son is a particularly likely choice. Tom, as first navigator of Ifalik, taught seamanship to his eldest son; but also to his brother and wife's brother.

Coconut trees planted on someone else's land, as already noted, are inherited from father to son."

1: Burrows--116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, ~~463~~, 565 Ifalik

"Every man, when he is not loafing, is a laboring man as well as a jack of nearly all trades. Chiefs are not exempt from manual labor. For that matter, the one-man specialty of the top-ranking chief, butchering and cooking turtle, is hard, messy work. This chief also brought a stick of wood to several of the meetings which were held daily for a time in order to supply me with song texts; and, during the talk and singing, finished a particularly well made shuttle for a woman's loom. The women are equally versatile. Skill in weaving and plaiting, as well as cooking, is expected of every one of them."

1: Burrows--116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322, 532, 463 Ifalik

"Some other skills, particularly fine woodwork in small articles like statues and men's combs, are specialties without title or formal training. Tom summed up the situation: 'Some men savvy; all men no savvy.' One such, who made more statues than anyone else, was Wètrlliwok, emaciated by some ailment that prevented his doing heavy work, but deft with his hands. When he wanted specimens of the finer men's combs, skilfully pegged together from little splints of straight-grained ria wood, Tom found a man to make them. He also undertook to have a wooden bowl hewn out for each of us; but, whether because of scarcity of raguēs wood, or decadence of the art in these days of metal pots and pans, or some other reason, the bowls were never forthcoming."

1: Burrows--116 (1947-48) Woleaians 1.2
116, 463 Ifalik

"A minimum of individual specialization is one of the most nearly consistent marks of communities we call primitive--that word of so many meanings that they threaten to cancel each other out. In that respect Ifalik is truly primitive. Most of the work can be done by any able-bodied individual of the right sex and age. Only the following activities are reserved to specialists:

1. government, to the chiefs
2. butchering of turtle, to the highest chief of Kovalū clan
3. navigation, to accredited palū
4. carpentry on canoes and public buildings, to accredited sennap
5. tattooing (a complete job only), to taupotu
6. some healing procedures, to tautavē
7. intercession with the gods, to taubwongbwong

Even this brief list has to be further qualified. In government, navigation, and carpentry, it is only the planning and direction that are reserved to specialists; others do most of the labor involved. Tattooing is an individual skill; but it is only the application of the complete traditional pattern that is reserved to taupotu. Anyone can put on other scattered motifs, as leaping porpoise along the outside of the legs. Moreover, in Ifalik this was an obsolete specialty during 1947-8. The only living taupotu had long ceased to practice his craft. Men who wanted a complete tattooing--if any still do--would have to seek a taupotu on some other island. This had not been uncommon in

the past; Tom, for example, had been tattooed on Woleai. The degree of specialization of healing and religious activity will be discussed in the chapter on religion."

1: Burrows--116-117 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, ~~463~~ Ifalik

"Traditionally, two clans, as noted under 'Social Structure', have special occupations; Bwêl, that of horticulture; Sabwēl, that of running errands [117] and carrying out orders for the chiefs. Whatever practical importance these specialties may have had at some former time, in 1947-8 they were purely nominal. Members of these clans put in their time no differently from anybody else."

1: Burrows--125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 173, 304, 152 Ifalik

"Additional payment to the experts in charge of a job consists mostly of the prestige that goes with authority. A rare instance of a more acquisitive attitude, involving insistence upon material payment, is the conclusion of the myth which tells of the divine origin of tattooing. After the god Wolfat had first taught a few men how to apply the designs, many applied to have their skins decorated. 'But Wolfat told them to put the designs only on those who gave them many fine presents, --cloths, rope, coconut trees, and whatever else they might desire.' Since the sole surviving master-tattooer of Ifalik, who told the tale, had long retired from practise, I could not suspect him individually of adding this as a profitable postscript. Presumably the conclusion was as traditional as the rest of the story. But it does seem to require avarice, which is unusual in Ifalik, of the practitioners of this craft."

2: Damm et al. --45 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502, 463 Ifaluk

In 1909 the knowledge required for seafaring was no longer preserved. Not one of all the men on the island knew how to sail by the stars. Only one had a vague idea about trips to Oleai, Faraulip and Lamutrik, but that was all that he knew. According to the islanders, there were still two experienced Ifaluk captains on Yap and Ngulu. Under these circumstances it was impossible to make a sailing chart.

2: Damm et al. --133 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502, 463 Aurupik

The courses [CS: omission of sailing voyages, pages 132-133] show how well informed the Aurepik Captains (damŏl ĭdĭt) are. They certainly sailed east as far as Kusae (native name Chatau)and Ponape, which is called Wulebĕĭ here; perhaps they went even farther; to the north they traveled to the Marianas and to the west to the Philippines (Dawogăn). According to the native accounts, Dawogăn lies south of Chatowei, * and it is supposed to be much larger and higher than Truk, Yap and Palau. We can not say definitely how far south they had travelled.

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* This is certainly Tobi; the map of the Polowai Captain Igurăli proves it; (compare Damm and Sarfert 1935, drawing 205).

4: Krämer--91-92
116, 776, 463, 396

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

In the discussion of navigation... Alúluel has been identified as the god of the navigators but also Lugeileng is closely connected with navigation.

As the builder of boats he is most important. He has many assistants among them Sëlang, Semalegóror, Semadjek, etc., who have been characterized in more detail in the chapter on religion, where there offices are explained in some detail. [92]

The head construction man, the séllap, (Truk: silelap) and his assistant, the rolifé-lefél, must not do any other work while they are engaged in the construction of a canoe; the one possible exception to this rule might be roofing. After the 5th day of taboos, the póufar... álisulap (Alúelap) conducts the ceremony lulur which frees the assistants from the taboos, whereas the headman is subject to them until the canoe is completed.

4: Krämer--194 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 481, 463 Woleai

The natives are very skillful divers. A 15 year old boy was able to catch anything that was thrown into the water by diving. As long as he was shown the object before it was thrown, he managed to catch it.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 157, 463 Woleai

The population is peace-loving but is greatly inferior to that of Yap in intelligence, industry and character; they are efficient, though, as canoe constructors, seamen and fishers.

28: Spiro--37 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 571, 476, 622, 463 Ifalik

"Another characteristic of cooperative work is the seeming absence of direction or plan. No one has a definite assignment, but fits himself in where he thinks he is needed. To make matters worse, no one individual assumes over-all direction, with the result that everyone shouts orders to everyone else, and men are seen jumping from one station to another, many with the same object in mind. Now when as many as 36 men are working on one canoe, the result is utter chaos and confusion, at least to the observer. But somehow, the end result of this turmoil and absence of plan, is a unified activity, with the end-in-view accomplished, and, what is even more important, with no injuries.

This lack of plan or leadership is patent not only in the actual undertaking itself, but in the absence of foresight in its preparation. Almost invariably something that should have been prepared in advance is remembered all too late in the midst of an intricate engineering job, which precipitates much confusion, until someone finally corrects it. One would think that the men would agree upon some one individual to act as the leader of the work gang, but no one suggests this, and no one will voluntarily take over this job, with the result that there are a number of leaders.

This lack of leadership, I hasten to add, applies only to the actual process of work, not to the general undertaking. There are specialists in construction, trained in engineering principles, who plan the repair that is to be done, and who direct the operations.

It is only in the particularised aspects of the total job, such as hoisting a beam, or lowering a keel that this chaos reigns."

28: Spiro--41 [2]
116, 463

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though there is no division of labor on Ifaluk, in the sense of certain men performing certain fixed tasks, . there is specialization, in that certain tasks require special training, and are performed only by certain men who have received special training. There are three such specialists, the navigators (palu) and the carpenters and construction engineers (zenap), and the priest-shaman. There are also men who are known as superior fishermen, but they do not derive their knowledge by special training, nor are they recognised institutionally by special names. The priest-shaman will be treated in the chapter on religion."

"The arts of the palu [WPM: navigators] and zenap, [engineers] were both supernatural dispensations, according to Ifaluk tradition, having been taught by 'gods', and were then handed down orally from generation to generation. These arts are taught to an apprentice over a considerable period of time, by the practitioner, for which instruction he receives gifts of lavalavs, skirts, tobacco, food, and other valuables. Though there is no hard and fast rule both these arts usually run in families, in the widest sense of that term, a practitioner giving preference to his own bilateral relatives, as well as to his in-laws. For example, the palus are Tom, his brother, his wife's brother, a distant kinsman, and two whom Tom is training, his son, and his sister's son. The Palu and the Zenap are among the most respected men on Ifaluk, and their offices are aspired to by the young men. In the Bavilais Moral Ideology Test a significant number of young men, when asked what they would like the most, answered that they would like to be a palu and/or a zenap.

That these two crafts are highly respected should occasion little surprise. Almost any adult male knows how to construct a house or a small canoe, or how to navigate a canoe in the open seas around the atoll. But the construction and repair of a canoe-house, or the navigation of a canoe on an overseas trip requires a highly specialised skill, which only the specialist possesses. The need for great skill becomes obvious when one

considers the engineering principles that are necessary for the construction of a large structure or the knowledge required to sail as many as hundreds of miles over open sea, without aid of a compass or navigation chart, let alone Radar or Loran. (5) When any such task is to be performed, therefore, the specialist is called in, and payed for his services with lavalavas, rope, and food.

A few men have acquired skills in all these fields. Tom, for example, is a navigator, as well as a canoe carpenter and structural carpenter. This is unusual, for there are some who are canoe-carpenters, but who are not competent to build or repair [42] buildings, and there are very few who are navigators as well as carpenters."

"5. The skipper of the LST that brought us home, informed me that his Radar was not working on his trip to Ifaluk, and he was worried lest he not find the atoll since the slightest deflection of the needle of his compass would cause him to by-pass the island. The native navigator has only the stars, sun, moon, currents, and physical signs, such as reefs, flying birds, and schools of porpoises, to guide his directions."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and the photographer is apt to be much resented. Yet people like to see the pictures. I never could see that the Ifalukians minded my photographic habits. They tended at first to stop work and pose when they saw me wih the camera, but they quickly got the idea that I wanted them to continue working without paying any attention to me. The kids were particularly cooperative since (it was Ted's idea) I always had a pocket full of hard candies for distribution.

The people from Satawal left the next morning, Monday. I forgot to mention that when we arrived on Ifaluk, we found we had been preceded, a few days earlier, by a set of visitors from Satawal, another atoll about 150 miles to the east: three of the big ocean-going canoes, carrying thirty-seven men and boys, two women, two young girls and two babies. They were making a round of visits to the islands of the area in the traditional style, and during their stay on Ifaluk they were guests of the community.

Here in the Western Carolines the knowledge and practice of navigation with ocean-going canoes persists, while it is only a dim memory in most parts of the Pacific. Here too it will surely and perhaps promptly disappear, since it is, by any reckoning, a hazardous affair. The palus, the captain-navigators, of Ifaluk were all old men, and few of the young men seemed to be learning the art. The young men that we questioned had all travelled rather widely among neighboring atolls—but mostly in trade ships, or in the course of being moved about for labor by the Japanese during the war. Yani, for instance, who had travelled a great deal in ships, going to Yap to work on the airstrip, and to Palau for the start of his teacher education, had made only two canoe trips—both to nearby atolls—and he had no interest in further canoe travel.

The navigating methods of the Polynesians and Micronesians are not too well understood, and no European has ever accompanied them on an ocean voyage—or at least no European has ever written an account of such a voyage. Ted, in consequence, wanted very much to go with the Satawal flotilla which was heading next for Elato, some fifty miles to the east. Ted pointed out that while the trip might be hazardous, it was surely no more hazardous than driving on a parkway in the United States on Sunday, which millions of people did with no